To explain these things properly requires a sense of the conditions which have produced them, an appreciation of the historical depth of the culture. In some areas, one perhaps might neglect history, relying on the interesting present to furnish the correct details. Such an approach would be fatal in any study of this part of the world, and neglect of history is responsible for the fatuous doctrine of the "unchanging East." While this is an investigation of contemporary life, indeed that is the purpose of the program under which the study was made, I have felt impelled to point out historical events and conditions which have brought the culture to its present state, not with any assurance that this has been adequately done, but at least to make clear that these historical problems exist, and that the contemporary culture must be seen as the end product of its historical antecedents, including the hints that can be collected of the modifications of the environment by human agency. The present geography of the island is to be seen, for example, not as something given and unchanging. The forested north and the deforested south are in all probability the direct result of the history of human settlement. 121

An approach of this type, I felt, could best be served by comparative study. Concentration on one village would have resulted in a deeper understanding of the way of life in that village and closer friendships with the villagers, and these advantages cannot be sensibly minimized. The selection of two or three villages might offset this disadvantage and offer some compensations of its own. One of these was comparison, even though it cannot be assumed that merely because three villages instead of one have been studied that a more valid interpretation of the whole culture has been obtained. Even in this small island, each "typical" village seems to grow less and less so as one learns more of the details. But at least the three situations can provide insight into three basically similar but different ways of living. If this is true on an island barely sixty miles long and eighteen miles wide at its widest point, how great this diversity must be in China, Japan, and Korea!

Upon arriving in Okinawa, I spent the first few days talking with officials who had, in the course of their duties, travelled widely throughout the island. From them I was able to obtain an idea of the different types of villages, those like Oku in the north that were exceptional, those that had come under direct American influence due to proximity to civil and military installations, and those that departed from the pattern of agricultural life. With these guides in mind, I determined to select one village whose economy was based on agriculture and this meant primarily the growing of rice, sugar cane, sweet potatoes, and soybeans. The number of villages that could meet this broad criterion was large, and it did not seem advisable in view of the shortness of the assignment to spend too much time in selecting a village, because the criteria of what was typical might be just as obscure at the conclusion as at the beginning. 121 184 [241]

Accordingly, I spent a day or so travelling in the general area south of the Chinen peninsula in the townships of Tamagusuku and Gushichan. These were close to Naha, and yet distant from the main centers of American influence. I was concerned here to select a village which would reflect as 114 121 184

114 121 184 much as possible the customary ways of doing things, and though one could not hope for an unchanging or an isolated village, one could find a village relatively so, even if, as was the case with all the villages, they had felt the effects of the deadly campaign for Okinawa.

On one of these trips, I talked with the headman of the village of Hanashiro and then with the officials in the nearby village office of Oushichan, and concluded on the basis of what I saw of the agriculture and the conditions described by these officials, that this small village would be a satisfactory selection. In the beginning, an epidemic of encephalitis made it wise to be away from the village at night and for [164] the first month the investigations were confined to daytime work. This was a serious handicap which I tried to overcome later in the tour by living in the village.

While working in Hanashiro, I had frequent occasion to pass the villages of Minatogawa-ikku and Minatogawa-niku, and I was impressed with the opportunity to study the life of a village in which agriculture [226] did not predominate, and in which the chief emphasis was on fishing and [324] stonecutting. I therefore decided to include the fishing village, and took up residence there late in August 1951, making frequent trips on the side to Hanashiro.

As interest and awareness increased, I became convinced that another type of village should be added to the agricultural and fishing selections. It should be one in the northern forested area (the Kunigami region). [361] After discussing this with American and Okinawan forestry officials, I followed their suggestion and lived in the village of Matsuda in Ginoza township. It proved to be a good choice, with the possible reservation that Matsuda is somewhat of a model village whose conditions might be better than the average.

The villages needed to be small enough for one man to study. And they proved to be admirable communities for realizing my original intention of showing similarities and contrasts in an agricultural village, a fishing village, and a village in a forest setting.

121 The results do not constitute a complete ethnography of each of the villages. Such was not my intention, and this could not have been done in the time available. The material has been organized around four central [128] subjects: (1) the nature of the family system and its influence through inheritance on land tenure and land use, (2) ways of life as illustrated in the studies of the agricultural, fishing-stonecutting, and forest communities, (3) daily family life as a concrete expression of the family system, and (4) wider community relationships, including political and cooperative organizations, education, and religion.

The basic theme is that a fruitful approach to the study of modern cultures lies in the borderland area between the social and the natural sciences, and that, in the case of these Okinawan villages, the study [311] would take the form of discovering in what ways the people are using their natural environment and the manner in which the culture has changed and

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648 This nineteenth century conception of the Ryukyus as remote and isolated islands in a part of the world in which travel and trade had reached a high degree of development continued unabated to the beginning of the war in the Pacific. The reasons were entirely political. The Ryukyus were part of that walling off process which characterized Japan's policy and strategy toward its island mandates and possessions since the end of the first world war. Okinawa might well have become, as some of the English and American explorers of the nineteenth century hoped, a crossroads of importance in world trade. If it had, it would only have repeated a role it played centuries before.

Since the invasion of 1945, worldwide political realignments have given it a new, and perhaps its most important significance. Its general geography has remained the same. It is the history since the war, and the shaping of ideologies that have brought about this change. Before 1945, Okinawa was regarded by the Japanese as the outer fort and protector of the home islands; during the war, it became the important strategic spot, from the American point of view, for the contemplated invasion of Japan. With the Korean war, it has been transformed from a small outlier in the Pacific to an important strategic center off the Asiatic mainland.

2

Regional Differences in Okinawa Island[3]

131
133 Okinawa, the largest of the islands in the Ryukyu chain, is about 485 square miles in area, 510 including its offshore islands, such as the Keram

[TEXT CONTINUES ON TOP OF P. 12--ANALYST]

114 3 A cultural geography of Okinawa is a real desideratum. But this is outside the scope of this work. Many materials have been brought together in memoranda, published and unpublished, surveys and the like, since the close of the war and the beginning of the American occupation. Lacking a newer synthesis, it seemed foolish to lengthen this report by merely repeating the published materials already available. The intention in this chapter is merely to indicate some of the general considerations helpful in understanding the history of the island and of contemporary life in the villages described. For the pre-war
114 geographical materials see Civil Affairs Handbook, Ryukyu (Loo-choo)
113 Islands, OPNAV 3-13, 3-38, the sections on geography and resources, and passim. Interesting information regarding local geography is scattered through the pages of Okinawa, The Last Battle, and for a general statement, see pp. 7-14. See also Walter R. Hacker's chapter on the Kurils and the Ryukyus in Geography of the Pacific, edited by Otis Freeman, New York and London, 1951, and M. Y. Nuttonson, Ecological Crop Geography and Field Practices of the Ryukyu Islands..., 11-58. For the geology, see, the CA Handbook, 11-12, Nuttonson, 29-36, and Engineering Geology, Okinawa (Prepared by Military Geology Branch US Geological Survey for Intelligence Division Office of the Engineer, GHQ, FEC, April 1951). This contains an Engineering Geology map of the island. For general relationships in this area see Trewartha, Glenn. T. Japan. A Physical, Cultural, and Regional Geography, v-ix, 3-4, and the map on the arcs and nodes, 8.

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4

The Disappointing Soils

Okinawa is small and has a large population. Agriculture has been and will continue to be the main source of livelihood for the people. For this reason, a consideration of the nature of its soils has practical interest. The soils of Okinawa fortunately have recently been surveyed, classified, mapped, and computations made of the approximate areas of each soil type.[7]

Estimated Acreage on Okinawa Island

1. The alluvial soils of the coastal flats and flood plains (Akamaru and Aha soils). About 80% of these are the gray clays given over to rice fields, and 20% in the brown and well drained Aha soils. These soils have no distinct profile, average more than six feet in depth, are slightly to medium acid. Deep and fertile, they are composed of loam, clay loam, and sandy loams. They are scattered over the island, frequently at the heads of bays or inlets where the short rivers come to the sea. The most conspicuous occurrences are in the Northern region, including the Motobu peninsula. They are much less frequent in the central district, and scarce in the southern district, with the most conspicuous spots along the Minatogawa river and the headwaters of a small stream south of Minatogawa. These soils are level or almost level (surface gradient 0-1.3%). The water table is seldom more than two feet below the surface. 10,900

[TEXT CONTINUES ON TOP OF P. 19 -- ANALYST]

7 The following materials have been used: (1) Soils of Okinawa, 11 sheets, controlled photomaps, with soil map overprint, prepared under the direction of the Engineer, Far Eastern Command, by various staff members of the US Geological Survey, Dept. of the Interior, and the Soil Survey of the USDA. (2) Okinawa Soils, a more generalized map, on one sheet (1:1,000,000) prepared by the Military Geology Branch, USGS, for the Intelligence Division, Office of the Engineer, GHQ, FEC, 1951. This is a map of dominant soil types. The analysis here is based on this unclassified map. See also the discussion in Nuttonson, as cited, 37-48. The writer wishes to acknowledge the courtesy and assistance of Mr. Sherman Neuschel, Chief, Military Geology Section, FEC, and Mr. Carl Stensland, Soil Scientist, who participated in the survey of Okinawan soils. In Tokyo on my return, I profited from my discussions with Dr. Stensland, who also furnished me with grid computations for the village areas in which I was interested.

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Approximate area in square miles	454
Population density per square mile	1139
Assumed area in cultivation in square miles a/	134.4
Population density per square mile of arable land	3851

a/ See discussion above. The 134.4 square miles is an approximation derived by adding the areas in wet rice, dry land crops, and 18,200 acres which includes land in cultivation, in town sites, military installations, and in idle land, a total of 86,335. An arbitrary approximation of 80,000 acres (134.4 sq. miles) was then taken, very probably too high a figure. Nuttonson, op. cit., p. 12, gives the cultivated area as less than one-fourth of the total area, or 67,200 acres. One of course must distinguish between cultivated land and land that can be cultivated, but 80,000 acres still seems a reasonable approximation.

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If we look at the geography of Okinawa from the point of view of the total physical environment and not merely from the point of view of the amount of arable land available to support the people, we are forced to the conclusion that as a result of long settlement, a growing population and the destruction of the war, combined with periodic and inevitable property and crop damage from typhoons, that the environment is not suited for the comfort and well-being of large numbers of people. Intense fertilization will keep the good soils growing crops. Increase of trade and some industrialization may help as long as they do not lead to destructive exploitation of the forests, and some small help may come from the reclamation of unused or cut over land.

5

Conclusion

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Almost one hundred years ago, one of the observers on Commodore Perry's expedition wrote,

> "That the island has been peopled for many ages, is evidenced by the graded roads and deep cuts, the structure and manifest age of the bridges, the antiquity of the villages, the great amount of stone-work in the towns and in the fortresses--some old and dilapidated, some modern and in repair; but, above all, by the incalculable amount of labor done in grading the land for culture. That which is now so perfect, could only have been made so by degrees, like structures reared by the ant or bee."[8]

8 Hawks, Perry's Expedition, as cited, II, 36.

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1

Introduction

Okinawan history is the story of inertia and change. Basil Hall Chamberlain, the distinguished Japanese and Ryukyuan scholar of the last century and grandson of Basil Hall who visited the island in 1816, said rightly in 1895 that "the general assertion may safely be hasarded that Oriental stagnation exists only in Occidental fancy."[1]

One of the reasons for this fancy is that there is a certain stability in parts of the culture, and from this circumstance it is often concluded that changelessness and lack of variety have characterized the historical experience of the people. Agricultural methods seem to have changed little with the centuries, though some of the tools are new. This stability in agriculture is another way of saying that a fine technology based on experience and empiric observation, had been developed, and that in the absence of modern scientific knowledge of soils, crops, plant pathology and fertilizers, it was the best technology possible under the circumstances. The tombs, introductions from China over five centuries ago, add to this impression of the changelessness of rural life. But this is more apparent than real when we look into the history of burial customs more closely.

This view of Okinawan history in terms of inertia and change has meaning for the present. The American influence on Okinawa is not a new way of life that is conditioning a static society, but an important, forceful, and new intrusion in a culture that already has undergone fundamental changes in the past. Those who think within the framework of Western European and American history, those whose minds are trained to recognize the changes which have come about as a result of the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the beginnings of theoretical science in the seventeenth century, tend to neglect the rest of world history as relatively unchanging, or to see only those changes coming about from Western intrusions. This one sided interpretation, often expressed in the idea of the Europeanization or the Westernization of the world, should be supplemented with the insight that Oriental cultures have influenced and changed one another greatly and have still maintained their own distinctive features. Chinese influences have been strong in Korea, Japan, and the Ryukyus. But each of these cultures is separate and distinct, although, as one might expect, contemporary Okinawan society bears the strong imprint of long cultural and economic associations with Japan.

1 The Luchu Islands and their Inhabitants. Geo. Journal 5 (1895), 311.

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2

Conjectural Minglings of Prehistoric Times

174 There seems to be little doubt that the settlement of these islands is the result of migration and invasion, and that in the early ages their history was one of contact, not of isolation. These contacts, a consequence of migration and invasion, whether direct or indirect, may have spread over two or three thousand years. This is important to bear in mind, for often in theoretical reconstructions of cultural history it is assumed that a culture has its origin in a period of early isolation and that is subsequent experience to the present is the history of the gradual blurring of its original features which have become increasingly influenced by the international community.

The two chief theories regarding the peopling of the Ryukyu Islands and of Japan are (1) that the southeastern and northeastern Asiatic influences came from the continent, probably by way of Korea. Advocates of this theory emphasize relationships with Korea, Manchuria, and Mongolia. (2) The island stepping stone theory, that the peopling came northward, perhaps via Formosa and the Ryukyus to Japan, is advanced by those who point to affinities with Indonesia, Melanesia, and Polynesia.

Presently held views, following the early lead of Chamberlain, are predominantly in favor of the first theory. Like Japan, the Ryukyus are thought to have been originally settled by peoples from northeastern Asia, perhaps similar to the Ainus of Hokkaido. The ancestors of the present Ainu are believed to have reached Japan "in at least three successive waves perhaps separated by long intervals of time." (Bishop).

This early Ainu settlement was followed by invasions of Mongoloid peoples, the effects of which were to force the Ainus north and west, with a few going south into the Ryukyus. While the original settlers of the Ryukyus are thought to be related to the Ainus, the evidence admittedly is meagre and has been questioned. Bishop has accounted for the southeastern Asiatic influences in Japan (and by inference in the Ryukyus, for he rejects the island stepping stone theory) by assuming areas of contact on the east Asian coast among the cultures of northeast China and those of the southeast, although the latter were not yet part of the Chinese culture. Cultural influences were transmitted along the Asian littoral, across Korea, or possibly the Shantung peninsula, to the Japanese islands.

The study of the Ryukyu Islands from the standpoint of modern Western standards of scholarship started with Basil Hall Chamberlain. His writings on Japan, and to a lesser extent on the Ryukyus, date from [114] the latter part of the nineteenth century. Since his time, further scientific investigation has been and will continue to be inhibited by political conditions in this part of the world. Advances in knowledge

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Since the war, the old narrow one lane roads have been broadened, permitting heavier auto traffic. Land ownership has been undisturbed, for it is not in an area in which the military has required land. Since the war, the villagers have tried to return to their former way of life, but this has been done with poorer houses and fewer possessions.

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Minatogawa

Minatogawa, the second village studied, formerly was a shoe string type of settlement. Houses, shops, drinking places were along the seawall road. This pattern is now altered as a result of the war. Scattered areas have been relocated and houses built on lands formerly used for sweet potatoes. It is now an indeterminate type of village, retaining some indications of its old settlement pattern along the main road, with additions of clusters of houses in the newly settled areas.

Like Hanashiro, this village is in Gushichan township, and located on Highway 64. It is directly on the main historical road, previously mentioned, which led from Naha to the Chinen peninsula. The road, along which its houses are built, parallels for a distance the estuary of the small Minatogawa river. This narrow estuary, called Usaregawa, which connects the river mouth with the Pacific Ocean, and the small river itself (Yuhigawa) is a boundary between Gushichan and Tamagusuku townships. On either side there are steep cliffs, the sites of the best known stone quarries of Okinawa.

The settlement and the adjoining lands have an area of about 256 acres. It is a mixed economy village with three distinct occupational groups: fishermen, stonecutters, and farmers. There is a second village whose borders blend with those of Minatogawa. These two villages are now known officially as Minatogawa-ikku and Minatogawa-niku. The two terms can be awkwardly translated as Minatogawa first ward, and Minatogawa second ward. But popularly they retain their older names: Minatogawa for the fishing village, and Nagamo for the agricultural second ward. These two separate but adjoining villages were until 1925 a single village.

The division was the result of distinct differences in outlook and occupation between the two sections. Minatogawa is a fishing village and has strong ties with Itoman, a town on the East China Sea shore about 4 1/2 miles away. Nagamo is an agricultural community originally settled from Naha and Shuri. Stone-cutting operations spread over both areas. While the fishing village of Minatogawa was given the emphasis in this study, it will be necessary occasionally to include Nagamo in the discussion.[8]

8 The writer did not realize until he lived here that two villages were involved, thinking that the two wards referred to a single administrative unit. By this time the work on Hanashiro had been well started, and time did not permit the intensive study of Nagamo.

842 need of succession is met, birth control measures might be accepted. There is, it is true, a widespread feeling that many children are a happiness which artificial control should not destroy. But this feeling, especially true with women, is often lost after the fourth or fifth child when mothers may dread further child bearing.[7]

[177] In the villages studied, there is an awareness of birth control. This awareness comes from conversation and reading, the primary sources being Japanese magazines and newspapers. I did not meet anyone who admitted practicing birth control or who desired to do so. According to the informants, it is not practiced at all. There may be some instances.

But birth control methods are not widely understood, and even if they were, it is doubtful that people would use them on their own initiative. The present apathy toward birth control methods may be due to the fact [167] that only recently has the question been of any significance. In the past economic difficulties within a family were relieved by emigration. There was thus little need to think of a limited family. On the contrary, there was pride in a family that might spread over continents.

[183] Historically, the whole emphasis in the family system has been on a large or a medium sized, not a limited, family, and this, even today, is tied in with family pride coming from having children and grandchildren. [569] If families have girls to begin with, the feeling is all the stronger. Though unusual, it is not unheard of to have a family of girls, and even if there are sons, there should be enough of them to take care of the hazards of death.

5

Conclusion

185 Among some villagers--and this seems to be independent of the degree of education--there are now more realistic appraisals of what the soil and the land can make available to a growing population and to their own children. Emigration for the time being is not possible. And, even if it were on a broad scale, it would not only have to skim off the present excess population, but take continuing care of future natural increases as well.

134 There were in all the villages several considerations that have influenced these appraisals. Land is insufficient, even in quantity, though in local areas such as Matsuda, it might suffice for local demands. The arable land is also poor. The poor and insufficient land,

[TEXT Continues Top of P. 69--Analyst]

[114] [208] 7 This dread of continual child bearing is discussed as an attitude, not as a general truth. The statement is based on conversations with men and women in each of the villages. Many women in Okinawa would not agree with this, but the attitude, I am convinced, if not a prevailing one, is at least frequent enough to be worth recording as something more than individual distaste.

combined with the destructiveness of typhoons, make for an unproductive life in terms of rewards for work done. To these, there is now being added a fourth realisation, that there are too many people in Okinawa. Greater mobility has increased this awareness.[8]

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8 These remarks, too, are based on impressions. Neither would I claim that they represent a majority opinion. Polls with samples competently chosen could only determine these attitudes. But complaints about the poorness of the land are proverbial among Okinawans. So are the discouragements coming from the typhoons.

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179 423 have been affected by roads and trails which have now disappeared.

[115] Old residents[5] of Matsuda and neighboring villages were able to furnish more specific clues regarding the old system and its relation to other phases of village life. These old people estimated the [161] population of Matsuda at the close of the old system at about 360 persons, compared with the present population of 1368. The system operated under much less acute population pressure than exists today. [165] Deaths, especially from malaria, and a high infant mortality kept the population down, although introduced Japanese hygienic measures helped.

[311] Under the old system in Matsuda, there was a continual clearing of land, mostly around the settlement. There seems little doubt that land reclamation and clearing has been going on slowly from the earliest historical times in Okinawa. The land cleared remained under village ownership, but the persons who cleared the property were allowed to hold it for use without giving it up for periodic redistribution. Technical ownership remained with the village.[6] Fences and stone barriers were erected as a protection against the wild boar. But the large scale reclamation and the private ownership of genya land seems to have occurred after the close of the old system.

The dividion of lands at the beginning of the new system has set the boundary pattern of many plots. In Matsuda there were instances of land which has retained the same boundaries that it had under the old system. There was general agreement among the old [428] that the form, boundaries, and areas of land plots have changed very little since the times of the jiwari-seido. This would be particularly true in the case of property which had passed down through [425] the first son. Changes came from the establishment of branch families and sales and purchases. In these areas, however, buying and selling have been infrequent.

195 423 [171] The history of land tenure in Okinawa, therefore, is different from that of Japan with its long history of tenancy, whose accumulated problems finally led to the land reform of 1946 during the Allied occupation. The present system of land tenure in Okinawa is a little over 50 years old.

178 423 311 The chief influences of the old system were to set in a form recognizable to the present, the pattern of land holding, to establish land classification, and apply it on a very localized basis.

[115] 5 I am indebted here to Shinzato Zensuke of the village of Sokei (Ginoza-son), and to Oshiro-san of Matsuda village (Ginoza-son) both over 70 years of age for their recollections of the history of the system in Matsuda.

● [114] 6 This differs from Goldschmidt's account, cited above, in that in this case the land became a usufruct, in the other actual ownership.

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3

Care and Conservation of Land

One of the significant tasks of our time is the study of the relation between population growth and density and the exploitation of renewable and non-renewable resources: the effects of a culture on the land, the forests, the soils and the vegetation must be considered in ethnographic and geographic work. If this is not done the culture is studied as if it rested, like a plate on a table, on a geographic base, without bothering to discover the nature of the environment or what the culture is doing to it.

Nineteenth century studies of primitive and advanced societies emphasized the influence of the physical environment in molding a culture. This crude fallacy, often known as geographic determinism or environmentalism, was exploded by studies made of cultures in all parts of the world in which it became clear that the physical environment is not the cause of cultural differences.

But the reverse of this approach, the examination of what a culture is doing to its physical environment, its soils, its vegetation, and its forests has not been carried on with the vigor with which other aspects of culture have been studied. This point of view has practical significance in day to day administration. Economic matters such as foreign trade or the labor force requirement should not be a separate and independent segment for study. Changes in inheritance should not be viewed solely with reference to the family system. Forest conservation should not be regarded only as a technique and a necessary department in the government.

The effects of the devastating typhoons, for example, need no elaboration: the destruction of life, crops, houses, of boats, and breakwaters. But their effects are also influenced by other factors. The two southern villages were in the midst of some of the violent fighting of the Okinawan campaign. Large numbers of houses in both communities were destroyed by the war. The new buildings to replace them are so frail that in typhoon times they are often destroyed. This rebuilding requires more wood and more grass. Thus, such factors as the war, the inability to reconstruct permanent housing, typhoons, and the natural growing of miscanthus grass are joined together in a close relationship.

In the south the relationship of typhoon destruction to deforestation is striking. There is need for tidebreak groves and shelter belts along the coast to protect crops from wind and salt-water spray, a need which fortunately the Ryukyuan Forest Agency is attempting to meet. Deforestation in the south seems inescapably tied up with long occupance. The center of population has always been in the southern part of the island. Not only should there be trees, but they should be planted in the right places. The deforestation of

241 514 occasionally, but by no means universally used. This failure to use night soil may vary from locality to locality, and from farmer to farmer. In my opinion, it has not the importance it has in China and Japan. Neither is night soil used as a food for pigs, though 231 514 this seems to have been the case in some parts of Okinawa as late as the 1920's.[2] But feeding human faeces to pigs was not observed in any village.

241 514 Normally in certain parts of Matsuda, night soil is used, though infrequently, in places near the house. It is not carried far. Applications are made to cultivated land and land not presently in use. In the Nagamo area, it is occasionally used on sweet potatoes and sugar cane. Night soil, gathered from the outside toilets, is [247] allowed to dry out before being applied to fields. It is often placed around ornamental plants. The fresh liquid form, carried on [482] the shoulder in two buckets on either end of a long pole, may be applied directly to the fields, ladling out a little of the liquid around [463] each plant. The professional collector of night soil is uncommon in the areas visited. Only one instance was found. Two brothers, who hired themselves out, cleaned the toilets for Yen 130 per day, plus meals. They spread the night soil on the owner's fields. These two brothers served the Gushichan area.

In Hanashiro, night soil is used occasionally, and then, it was said, only by the old. Its main use was on sugar cane. As a general rule, in all the villages, night soil is most frequently used around plants already growing and around each plant individually, rather than mixing it with the soil when the field is being prepared. Its use on rice fields was not observed.

The sparing use of night soil is indicated also by the infrequency with which one meets its characteristic odor in the countryside. An observation of a traveller, almost 100 years ago, lends some credence to the thought that night soil has not been extensively used [114] in Okinawa. "How night-soil is disposed of is not known; certainly it does not obtrude itself on the senses, as it does in China, nor is it [117] applied in the same way."[3] In Hanashiro, the decline in use since the war was ascribed to American influences: the dangers to health, and the increased availability of artificial fertilizers.

241 (5) Commercial fertilizers. These are now substantial proportions of the expenditures of an Okinawan farmer. These fertilizers generally are broadcast over the rice and dry crop lands. The writers of a

2 Richard Goldschmidt, Neu-Japan, as cited, 135.

3 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, II, 35. The author was Dr. Green.

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The writers of a recent report on Okinawan economy have emphasized that the combination of generally poor soils, the rapid decomposition of organic matter in a near tropical climate, and excessive leaching make the problem of fertilization very difficult--4 to say nothing of the trace elements.

(6) Other substances are used for fertilizers. In Matsuda the barber gathers the cuttings from the luxuriant hair of his clients and places them around his sugar cane--and recommends them highly. Acacia leaves are also used for this purpose here. Leaves and miscellaneous plants are often considered to be especially good fertilizers.

Crop rotation (rinsaku) practices differ by district. In the Hanashiro area, the sugar cane, soy bean, and sweet potato (or vegetable), sugar cane rotation is common. Rotation of paddy with another crop does not occur. Rice succeeds rice in the double cropping system here. In Matsuda, a common rotation is either (1) the sweet potato, soy beans (or grain, millet, or green peas) and the sweet potato, or (2) the soy bean, sweet potato, grain (barley or millet) rotation. Here rice is not rotated with other crops. (This however does occur in Okinawa).

Simple Rotations
Hanashiro and Nagamo

One Year

After the sweet potato harvest, the plot is planted in soybeans in the first lunar month.

The soybeans are harvested in the fifth lunar month.

Sweet potatoes follow the soybeans in the sixth lunar month

or

Vegetables alternating with the sweet potato for a year.

Two Years

Sugar cane is sown in the sixth lunar month.

Harvested two years hence, followed by ordinary beans or vegetables, again followed by cane.

4 Agricultural and economic reconstruction in the Ryukyus. A report. Agricultural mission to the Ryukyus, Nov. 1949, 46-47.

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common and indispensable tool. It has many uses, including cutting rice stalks at harvest, brush, and sweet potato tops. 412

3. A small sharp pointed hoe, with a short handle, used in sweet potato planting.

4. A two pronged hoe, the futamata, used mostly with sweet potatoes. The two pronged hoe is used in softer soils. It is much more common in Matsuda than in the southern villages.

5. The three pronged hoe, the mutsumata, also used in sweet potato cultivation and in digging. These prongs, with skilful use, do not cut the potato. It is also much more common in Matsuda than in Hanashiro or Nagano.

6. The common all purpose hoe (kuwa). It has a thick, solid, wide blade. The handle (about 3 1/2 feet long) is stout. The hoe is much sturdier than the ordinary American garden hoe.

7. Another hoe, longer and with a sharper angle between the handle and the blade. It has a variety of uses.

8. A long handled hoe with a heart shaped blade. It is used for making furrows.

9. An ordinary rake.

10. A cultivator and weeding tool for rice paddies. (The pole in back near the handle of the pitchfork is a prop to hold the tool upright for the picture). Only the more prosperous farmers possess this tool. Rice weeding is done almost entirely by hand. [934]

11. An ordinary pitchfork.

12. The plow (suki) 407

13. The harrow (maguwa), and

14. The waku, a hexagonal wooden frame used in laying out a rice field for transplanting. The last three tools or devices, which are not shown in the picture, will be described under rice cultivation. 413

3

The Annual Work Cycle

The following charts show the annual work cycle by lunar month of two farmers, one in Hanashiro, one in Matsuda. The Western calendar equivalents for 1951-52 are shown below the lunar month. Because the lunar year is shorter, there is a gap, as the period actually covered is from February 6, 1951 to January 26, 1952. These materials are based on observation and conversation with the farmers concerned. 221 241 [805] [114]

In addition to these varieties, cultivated locally, imported rice is distributed through the import stores. These rices generally are from Egypt, Siam, and Burma. They are not well liked and are considered to be tough (katai). Whether this is because the variety itself is disliked or because the imports were of a poor quality is hard to say, but Egyptian, Siamese, and Burmese rice are unfavorably compared with Japanese, Formosan, or the locally grown products. Okinawans are very sensitive to the types of rice. There is no such thing as "rice." Long habituation and fondness for special kinds have induced tastes and preferences which each villager is quick to express.

In Hanashiro, the main type of rice planted is also the Taichu 65, a variety which originated in Formosa, and is generally preferred. The red variety, mochigome, does not do well here, according to local farmers, and just a little is grown. Mochigome (literally, rice-cake rice) is used in making the doughy and gummy rice cakes.

5

The Sweet Potato

The cultivation of the sweet potato (satsuma imo) is a much simpler undertaking than rice culture. Fields are prepared by hand hoeing. The plow and the harrow are not used. In sweet potato cultivation, seed potatoes are first planted in a small plot. This furnishes slips or transplants for other fields. Slips are multiplied by using the tops of one field to plant another. Propagation thus is by clones, and this vegetatively reproduced plant is the mainstay of the diet.

The potato seed bed, well hoed and fertilized, is generally planted in the spring. The tops to be used as slips (kazura) are cut off and planted in rows. Practice has brought deftness in this transplanting. A small amount of soil is lifted up by the spatula, (hera), and held so that an opening rather than a hole appears. The slip is shoved into the aperture and quickly pressed down by the left heel, as the farmer moves to the next planting.[5] Few tools are used in the cultivation of the sweet potato. Only the hoe and the spatula are really needed. Occasionally one finds a special hoe with a sharp angle between the blade and handle or a heart shaped hoe with a long handle. In the Hanashiro and Nagamo areas, the solid bladed hoe is the commonest tool. Two and three pronged hoes are less often used because of the hardness of the soil.

The cultivation of the sweet potato, as we have said, is a year round operation, though planting may slacken off during the winter months.

5 Methods of cultivation have changed little in the past 100 years. The same operation is described in Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, II, 31-32.

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Conclusion

311 184 In the comparative study of these villages, certain distinctions are worth summarizing. (1) In the southern villages, which lack forest land, there is much more dependence on the uncultivated wild land (genya) which supports the grasses. (2) The forest, in Matsuda as elsewhere in the north, is a reserve for necessities like firewood, thatch, charcoal and building materials, both for local use and southern trade. (3) The shelter belts and groves have been preserved in the north. [245] [647] (4) Tidewater plantings of shelter belts are needed in the south. Plantings of the Ryukyuan Forestry Agency, under American Civil Administration encouragement, have begun in the south as protection from wind and salt water spray damage. These include the mokumao, the pandanus, the hibiscus (Albizzia julibrissum Durazz, in Japanese the nemunoki) and the hirugi (Bruguiera spp.)[12] (5) Ecologically, the situation is more balanced in the north where a good start seems to have been made in arresting progressive deforestation. (6) This balance, if Matsuda is a representative village, can only be maintained by constant appraisal of the relationships of the forest to agriculture, to the growing population, and to the economic demands to which this leads, unless the wood and timber demands of the island are to be met in large part by imports.

114 648 636 An occupying power like the United States, rich in modern techniques, can do much to improve the life of a small island people. If it is mindful of the history and the present features of the culture, it can suggest improvements without destroying the bases on which the culture rests.

313 114 One of its greatest accomplishments could be an aggressive and continuing program of conservation and afforestation. The present administration, through the Forestry Section of the Food and Natural Resources Department, has started a program which, if permanently pursued, could have far-reaching consequences. An emphasis on selective cutting, conservation, fire control, tidewater plantings, and many other measures could only be a credit to American administrators and foresters as well. The costs, as such things go, would be moderate.

From personal experience in village life, I have no doubt that the co-operation of villagers in all parts of the island could be readily obtained in advancing a large scale afforestation program. The readiness of the people of Matsuda cannot be an exception. These things could be accomplished without an unwieldy administrative apparatus. I have been continually struck with the ability of the Okinawans, with their skill in local organization, to accomplish

12 I am indebted to Mr. Richard Varney of the Department of Food and Natural Resources, USCAR, for this information.

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114

things quickly and simply. One need not think of large centralized programs but of many small efforts, working through the simple channels of local government.

In the decades to come, a thriving and self-supporting forest, with shelter belts and tidewater plantings, will be a great asset to the Okinawans, an accomplishment in which the American people can share with pride.

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is bending and stooping, or while his older brother or sister is running or jumping. The ease with which adults sleep is equally remarkable. On buses in Okinawa, I have seen men and women with their heads against window sashes, while the bus bounces over the rough roads. Sharp cracks on the head are unavoidable, and to one unaccustomed to it, would be very painful. But people sleep like this, with their heads knocking against the hard surface of the bus, for miles.

This carrying of the child continues regardless of season. In the winter, coats are put over or around the child's body. One of the obvious and most important facts about Okinawan child rearing is this custom of carrying the child on the back. But it is difficult to say precisely what this importance is. Certainly in this way the child has continuous contact from earliest infancy with the life around him. He is not accustomed to being alone, except for an occasional hour during the day when he may sleep on a blanket. At night he sleeps with his mother. A child does not have to be introduced to the world. He is not shielded in a crib. From early infancy he has seen and been almost every place in the village and learns to know many whom he will know throughout life.

This "public" and community life from earliest infancy is one of the outstanding features of Okinawan culture, a characteristic which it shares with-and which is derived from-Japan. One of the surprises is that despite these contacts with all phases of village experience, the child, as it grows older, becomes quite shy. This is true of boys and girls, and continues in my observation from the age of puberty up to marriage. No person who has had any contact with Okinawans fails to notice this shyness. The Okinawans use the Japanese word hazukashii to describe it, and, in this connection, the meaning is something between a feeling of shyness, self-consciousness, and shame. The shyness often does not disappear until marriage or even until the birth of the first child, when father and mother take their place as mature and responsible adults.

Two recent observers who analyzed the reactions of Okinawans under the stress of war have thought that early and continuous breast feeding is largely responsible for giving the child, from earliest infancy, a sense of security. While this theses was advanced out of intimate experience (mostly in the wartime hospital at Ginoza village), it must, in my opinion, be qualified considerably.[8] The period during which the child is breast fed is but one period in the formative years of childhood. Besides breast feeding is no monopoly of the Okinawans. Neither is carrying on the back confined to them. The period immediately after the child is taken off the back and begins to walk is a difficult one for most children. This

8 See Moloney, James C. Psychiatric observations in Okinawa Shima. The psychology of the Okinawan. Psychiatry 8 (1945), 391-99. Moloney, James C. and Biddle, Charles R. A psychiatric hospital in military government, ibid, 400-01.

155 is an impression, and I doubt that Okinawan mothers would agree
● 114 with me. The toddler stage, in my opinion, is a difficult one for the Okinawan child. It is an abrupt change from the continuous care and physical contact of infancy. This transition need not necessarily be abrupt. A child may be carried some and walk some. As he learns to walk, his mother is near him.

857 When the child is no longer carried, he ceases to be an observer and becomes a participant in play. Formerly he watched the activities of the older children and smiled to the attention when it was given. Now he wishes to catch up with them as they walk down the lanes; he is often left behind and is not fast enough nor expert enough to keep up. This is a problem of childhood everywhere, but I believe here
155 that the transition from one type of activity to another is more
855 drastic. The child also receives less attention from his parents, especially from his mother. This most mothers would deny. But I have often seen parents walking along a village lane, a toddler behind them crying and trying hard to keep up with them. They showed less solicitude and patience with him than they had when he was being carried. The mother gives less attention to the child during this period, particularly if she has had another child. In this, I do not mean to imply any lack of kindness or tenderness in the treatment of children, but to point out a change of emphasis. There is much more crying in the 2 to 3 year age groups than among infants who cry very little because they are entertained so much.

The toddler not only has the problem of becoming a participant in play, but of getting along without the close attention of the mother, his elder sisters, and possibly brothers.

855 Children are rather regularly spaced. The middle child of the
[842] lower three is most likely to be neglected. The baby is on the mother's back; he gets his breast feeding and is always with the mother. The older child has started to school or is leading an active play life. The middle child, too young for school and only tolerated by the older child who has his own interests, is too old for the breast and the back. The successful transition from the back carrying and breast feeding stage to walking and to the stage of independent play seems most successful when there are many children of the same age in the village, and consequently absorption in play can replace the intimate attention of parents and older siblings. A father may fill in this gap, allowing his young child to accompany him to work, but this experience generally belongs to a later period of childhood.

853 As the infant grows, nursed by the mother, he gradually receives
262 other foods, but the variety depends on the economic status of the family. The first food (other than the mother's milk) is rice water. Later rice is made into a gruel. The rice is soaked and mashed up in a quern. Families who have rice fields, or who can buy rice, may delay feeding the sweet potato to the child until the third year. Among the poor, sweet potato feeding begins much earlier. One

585 following the marriage, there is another ceremony, this time for relatives and perhaps a few close friends. The couple go to the bride's house where there is food and sake. This means the husband has really and finally accepted the daughter of the house and is thanking her parents for her. The day

But these events also are not observed uniformly. On the second day, there may be a gathering of friends and relatives, to be followed on the next day by visits of the bride, groom, and the groom's friends and relatives to the bride's home to give thanks for receiving the girl in marriage.

585 269 The food served at weddings depends on the economic circumstances of the family. But at today's prices food which would be considered acceptable costs at least ¥100 per person including sake. This feast had many extras and consisted of a buckwheat (soba) noodle soup, slices of beef and pork, eggs, tenpura, a fritter without a fish or meat filling, sweet potatoes, a vegetable salad of raw radish, green onion and sea weed shoots, bean curd, a boiled fish paste, rice cakes, and a sweet round fritter (sato tenpura) very much resembling the doughnut in taste, various cakes, and a sponge cake (kasutera).

585 [823] The marriage ceremony is performed only when the tide is coming in, for the same reasons that were noted with the birthday celebration of the child. Marriage is a time of bounty and fulfillment, not of diminution and withdrawal.

585 119 There was a "very ancient" Okinawan custom, cited by Spencer on the authority of Shimabuku Genkichi, the student of Okinawan history, of the bride remaining in the home of her parents even after marriage, and the husband coming to her home to spend the nights with her. This Spencer ascribed to the high economic value of the woman and the custom at the time of Spencer's writing (1931) was still said to exist in parts of the northern district (Kunigami) of Okinawa.[3] The temporary return of the wife to her home after her marriage, while the husband went to a public brothel was also an old custom.[4] [548]

585 184 The preceding description of a wedding ceremony in Hatsuda may be compared with one seen in Oushichan village close to Hanashiro. (Rural weddings are not so easy to see as one might think. There may be only one or two in a year in a village; when the parties are from different villages, the number in any one village is also reduced). In this

3 Spencer, as cited, 96. In my studies at Hatsuda (which is in the Kunigami district) and in visits to Oku on the extreme northern part of the island, I did not encounter any indication of the survival of this custom. But unfortunately I was unaware of their previous existence and there may well be survivals in some of the villages.

4 Simon, Beitrage zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, 97.

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The native medicine, including the use of plants and fish as medicines, the native doctor, the use of cauterization, the golden needle, slashing, and acupuncture, seem to be disappearing in favor of modern patent medicines and drugs, and scientific medicine, nursing, and midwifery. Of all the traditional practices (ultimately derived from China), slashing and burning with moguså seem to have the greatest vitality.

10

Tattooing

Tattooing (ireisumi) in Japanese, dake in Okinawan) is a subject of great historical interest in the Ryukyu chain. In Okinawa, it exists now only among elderly women (in the late sixties and seventies), as it was forbidden by law when the Japanese annexed the islands. Tattooing usually was done on the back of the hands, including the fingers, parts of the wrist, and the knuckles. The design was put on by spreading India ink (often with sake or awamori added) on the surface, pricking out the design and wiping off the surplus, repeating the operation for the lighter parts. To my knowledge, there was no facial tattooing.

Until quite recently tattooing was practiced on men as well. Basil Hall in 1816 wrote of a landing in the south of Okinawa island. "Most of these people had fish spears tatooed on their arms in the form of a trident, with rude barbs." On the right arm it was called (in Hall's transcription) "oodeemav," and on the left, "tooga." Apparently this was confined to fishermen. Furness in his account of the Luchus (1899) observed such markings among young and mature men in Itoman. The explanation given him was that they were a protection against evil spirits. Furness also discussed the theory that tattooing was historically connected with weaving. Simon, in an interesting speculative discussion, based on the designs of cloth in Miyako and their correspondence with house or family markings thought that the tattooing was a means of identifying women's membership in a family.[7]

This interesting idea unfortunately did not occur to me while in the villages, but the notion that tattooing may have been related

7 Hall's Voyage, as cited, Vocabulary (no pagination). Hall includes sketches of the marks. Furness, Life in the Luchu islands, as cited, 9. See also Simon's extremely interesting discussion, Beitrage zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, as cited, 134-150. Furness and Simon are especially valuable because they personally observed instances of tattooing at a time when it was much more commonly seen. Both authors reproduce patterns which show differences among the islands and among individuals.

114 to the family system, the extended family, or to the household
304 order naming system is well worth exploring. No tattooing was
602 observed among the Hinatogawa fishermen, but this may have been an oversight. According to an old woman there, it did exist. One would expect it from the close relationship of Hinatogawa to Itoman. It is quite probable, in my opinion, that tattooing of men and women have different origins.

304 According to the early observers, tattooing of women took place around puberty, although Furness puts the age at 4 or 5 years. Patterns differed distinctly by island.

In Okinawa, everywhere one hears the same explanation for the origin of women's tattooing. Although there are variants, the core of the explanation is that the Ryukyu islanders (presumably after
[698] the Satsuma conquest of 1609) tattooed their young girls to prevent their being carried off to brothels in Japan. The tattooing was supposed to have made the girls so unattractive that they were untouched. Other variations are that the tattoo indicated marriage and thus kept the girl from being taken away. An old woman of Hinatogawa told of a legend (not seen or heard from any other source) in which the tattooing of women was an act of thanksgiving for a
[773] rescue at sea. A boat was sinking, and the survivors swimming saw two hands in the sky. They stopped the waves and the storm passed, permitting the swimmers to reach shore easily. The families were told, and after that the hands of the women were tattooed.

[119] This subject needs considerable research. It would be of great interest to know the relationship, if any, to the family system, the extended family, and the household order naming system, whether it is comparatively recent in the islands, and whether the tattooing
[177] of the fisherman is a result of Chinese or Portugese influences and a consequence of the early Pacific trade described in Chapter II.

11

Knuckle Cracking

157 One of the most puzzling of Okinawan mannerisms is the frequency of knuckle cracking. It may be observed in young children from 5 to 6 to old men and women in their seventies. It is done on so many occasions that cataloging them would be a real chore. The knuckle is cracked crisply and sharply. Young boys and girls may talk a whole evening, cracking their knuckles incessantly. It occurs in ordinary conversation, at lively parties, and during periods when a conversation lags. Children say they learned it from their mothers.

It seems a habit acquired very early. Perhaps it is an indication of tension, but I am inclined to be less specific. One Okinawan explained it as a continuation of childhood habit and ascribed it to the limberness of the fingers coming from early training on the abacus,

the tomb shaped like a horseshoe or the Greek letter, omega. A great deal of popular lore has accumulated around this type of tomb. Okinawans believe that the shape of the tomb symbolizes the position of a woman giving birth to a child. This is related to another idea, "returning to the source" (moto ni kaeru in Japanese). 764 [811]

Four different but related meanings seem to be involved in the idea of "returning to the source": (1) that life here is but a momentary experience. One's real and permanent life is in the afterworld. At death one returns to his permanent home. (2) After death a person becomes a god (hotoke-san) in the Buddhist sense. He reaches this state 49 days after death, according to some explanations, though there is much confusion on this point. This godhood is a "return to the source." (3) At death one returns to a state of peace, and (4) one returns to a former state or to a former place. It is with this last meaning that the turtleback tomb is associated in popular lore with "returning to the source." 761 775

On death one returns to the womb of nature from which he came. (Similar lore has collected around the Buddhist coffin in which the corpse is put in a position like that of a child in the womb). Whether the popular explanation is the true one is very hard to say. It certainly should not be accepted without critically evaluating the questions which such an explanation raises. Early European and American observers were quick to point out the similarities between those tombs and those of China, though the fact that they were introduced from China does not rule out the symbolic meaning they might have. Many Okinawans regard these tombs as indigenous. But the Okinawan antiquarians, who so love to find symbols in everything, would be loathe to surrender this lore. It is generally agreed that the tombs were introduced from Fukien province in China. Captain Basil Hall was the first western traveller, I think, to notice the similarity between Okinawan and Fukien tombs. M'Leod also mentioned it. 775 764 811 [114] [171] [077]

The gable (hafu) type of tomb is very common. There are also small temporary tombs of masonry, more often built of rocks. The tombs of Hinatogawa are of this type. There are also very old tombs, hollowed out of the rock of a hillside. These were rare in the villages. Only one was seen in the dense vegetation and undergrowth at the bottom of a deep ravine in the center of Matsuda. Large tombs hollowed out of hillsides are a commonplace, but the small ones apparently were the tombs of the very poor. Recently a new small tomb is being built by families unwilling to undergo the expense of the larger tombs. Tombs, though appearing to be haphazardly placed on mountains or on rocky hillsides, are on privately owned land. 764 [565]

The tombs may also be classified as to use, that is, whether they are intended for a single or the extended family. In Hanashiro, tombs are of the extended family type, located on land owned by the main family. They are the responsibility of the head of the main family. Branch families may contribute to the purchase price of the land, construction materials, and to maintenance. 764 602

construction materials, and to maintenance.

In an earlier chapter, a villager's remark was quoted to the effect that Hinatogawa was a branch family of Itoman. This is well illustrated in the burial customs of this village. Both children and adults are placed in a simple, temporary tomb, usually along the coast near the stonecutting area. Later the tomb is opened, the bones washed, and sent to Itoman. The transfer of the remains from the temporary tombs of the village to the extended family tomb in Itoman may be done at a time when it is necessary to open the Itoman tomb because of the death of a member of the extended family there. There is no second funeral. The cleaned bones are put in a box. There are short prayers before the opened Itoman tomb, the bones placed inside, and the box discarded.

In the adjoining village of Nagamo, burial customs are similar to those of Hanashiro. Nagamo has three different kinds of tombs: (1) large gable and turtleback extended family types, (2) a similar large tomb for a single family, and (3) small tombs for individual families.

The tombs of Matsuda also are mainly of the extended family type. There are examples here of the turtleback, the gable, and the new small tomb. They are scattered throughout the village area, sometimes on the summit of a hill whose slopes are given over to terraced rice fields or dry cropping. Not all families own tombs; for reasons of economy, the small tomb for individual burial is becoming more frequent.

In all the villages, after the coffin is put inside the tomb, it is left there for about three years. The tomb is reopened, the bones are removed from the coffin, washed, and put back in the tomb, tasks done by female relatives of the deceased, usually women over 40 years old. This three year period is not a set one. If a later death occurs in the family, the coffin may be opened at that time. An old custom of placing the bones in an urn after they are taken from the coffin has been abandoned. Basil Hall has some interesting comments on these old Okinawan urns.

3

Observances in Memory of the Dead

Observances in memory of the dead are held in all villages on the 1st, 7th, 14th, 21st, 28th, 35th, 42nd, and 49th day after death, and on the 1st, 3rd, 7th, 13th, 25th, and 33rd anniversary of death.

The simple observances and prayers at the tomb on the day following burial have already been mentioned. At the home, temporary memorial tablets made of white paper (shiroihai) are prepared to be replaced later with permanent red memorial tablets on the Buddhist god shelf. Both at home and at the tomb only relatives or close friends participate in the prayers and food offerings.

3

Celebrations Through the Festival of the Fifth Month

796 The 15th day of the second lunar month (March 22, 1951) is the Buddhist holiday, higan, celebrating the spring equinox. Here it is a home festival of thanksgiving. Barley (ōmugi) or barley cakes [262] with brown sugar are offered with prayers for continued good fortune. Other grains, such as rice, millet (awa) may be offered, though the cakes (mugimochi) are of barley. In Matsuda, this is not a home ceremony. An offering of white rice cakes is made by the village [193] head man, with the assistance of lower orders of the former priestess system, at the site of the village patron deity.

527 The third day of the third month is the festival of the dolls, [524] (hinamatsuri). It is not important in Okinawa and is spottily ob- [562] served. In Hinatogawa, it is a woman's holiday. Women and children make dolls. Gifts of dainties and candies in red lacquer boxes are prepared. People from nearby villages come to Hinatogawa, bring their lunches, and gather shells and catch fish.

The fifth day of the fifth month is Boy's Day. This Japanese holiday is not significant in the villages. There may be banners with a picture of a carp (koi no bori) displayed, visits to the place of the patron deity, some visiting and samisen playing, and perhaps a play.

527 The 14th day of the 5th month (June 18, 1951) is the festival 526 of the Gods of the Sea and is observed only in Hinatogawa. It is this village's greatest celebration. The boat race, held on this day, attracts many from the interior villages. In Hanashiro, most activity ceases while everyone goes to the boat races. Before the [178] races, the villagers go to the religious sites to make small offerings [182] and to pray. The races are held in the estuary of the river. In their excitement, children with infants on their back often wade out in the water to cheer their favorite boat.

796 The Festival of the Fifth Month (Gogatsumatsuri) is held on the 15th [193] day of the 5th lunar month (June 19, 1951). Like the festival of the spring equinox, it is a day of thanksgiving. Thanks are given for rice instead of for barley. In Matsuda, the ceremony is conducted by the village head man and former members of the priestess system.[2]

[114] [825] 2 According to a Matsuda informant, women should not sew on this day. It is a rest day. If work is done, including gathering plants for fertiliser, the dreaded poisonous snake, the habu, will come. These customs were not encountered in the other villages.

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who upset the tea cups and the sake flasks.

A public parade and celebration was held in Itoman in 1951, and a short digression to describe it may be worth while. The main attraction was a parade, which halted frequently so that participating groups could perform dances, acts, or skits. In these there were several themes: (1) dances by female groups of all ages from beginning school girls to old women in their seventies. Many women wore artificial turtles on their hats, the younger children having paper outlines of turtles. The young girls were led by an older man who kept time either by playing the samisen or by clapping his hands. The very young girls beat small tin cans with sticks. The dances of the older girls and women were of two kinds: one symbolized the crane and the turtle (tsurukame). The turtle is a symbol of longevity. The second is the pine-bamboo-plum tree triad (shochikubai) symbolizing long life and beauty. (2) Female impersonators imitated both the traditional Japanese woman with her costume and hair arrangement, and the modern woman with a chignon wearing a bright kimono, sun glasses, and smoking a cigarette. Their antics depended for their humor on the gracelessness of the men: they included mock flirtations and rejections, kicking of the heels, slapping with a fan, and other clowning. (3) Various balancing acts with long poles done by boys and young men. (4) Skits of individuals dressed as savages from the south seas. (5) Humorous acts showing the people of the northern district who were portrayed as jolly country bumpkins. Their caps, with tassels, looked like a cocoanut shell. The long false hair and beards were made of palm fibre. They carried ludicrous looking saws and axes while dragging a log.

One feature of the Itoman celebration was the well-known rope pulling contest (tsunahiki). The giant rope, made of rice straw, is at least 100 yards long, and about two feet in diameter. Each end has a loop. These loops, joined by a heavy piece of wood, are above the center line. The men of the town divide into two groups. The tug of war began about 5 in the afternoon and was soon over, but one has been known to last until one or two o'clock in the morning. It is found in all villages, but there is no set date for it. The tug of war is an old diversion in Okinawa.[5]

In former years, Minatogawa people participated in the Itoman festival. In 1951, they held their own evening celebration. This is a time of great beauty, with the light of the full moon illuminating the Pacific, the coral coast, and the mountains. The evening entertainment consists of some acts, similar to vaudeville, and a longer play. Crowds came from the surrounding villages, bringing their own mats and their own sake. Most of the officials of the township attended.

5 Goldschmidt, Neu-Japan, has reproduced an interesting painting showing a tug of war in Naha around the end of the 18th century. It shows an audience of court officials, the Chinese ambassador, as well as the various participants. Facing p. 179.

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873 [368]

Hanashiro the children take the short walk to primary and junior high school at Oushichan village; for senior high school they go to Chinen, 5 or 6 miles away. Most of them walk. Matsuda has an elementary school with the junior and senior high schools at Ginoza village, about 1 1/2 miles away. In senior high school, there is more specialization. The general science course is divided into physics (butsuri), chemistry (kagaku), and biology (seibutsu). Mathematics is split up into geometry (kika) and algebra (daitsu). There is further instruction in agriculture for the boys, some for the girls. The girls continue with domestic science, including sewing.

In the secondary schools, vocational education is well represented in the curriculum. The courses are planned as a preparation for the type of work students will do as adults in a village. The instructors seem competent although the subject matter does not include modern advances. There should not, in my opinion, be a further growth in vocational at the expense of general education, except after careful study of long term requirements. The great masses of people will continue to depend on agriculture, forestry, and to some extent on fishing for their existence, and vocational education should be built around a recognition of these facts. It should concentrate on supplying new knowledge related to these main fields. [875] 114

New technical skills that we desire to develop should be governed by these considerations: (1) the improvement of agriculture, forestry, and fishing. (2) The long range plans of the military and civil administration and the skills they will require. (3) New skills that will be needed with any development of foreign trade or of local industrialization.

Vocational education also should be developed along lines consistent with the type of professional training we are prepared to encourage. If biologists, botanists, agriculturalists, soil scientists, foresters, statisticians, social scientists are being trained, vocational and technical education should also follow along these general lines to create a source both of initial interest and of possible technicians to assist the professional workers. This would also apply to the public health fields, such as nurses' aides, midwives, laboratory technicians.

871 [562] [875]

The distinguishing feature of the new education (shinkyoiku) is the introduction of democratic ideas (minshushugi). The status of girl students and of women teachers has also changed. Before the war, the children were taught in the same room, but the boys and girls were separated. Now there is no segregation. Women teachers' salaries, formerly about 20% less than the mens', are now the same.

/ 3

Schools and the Teacher

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There is much more to a school day than actual instruction. The

This desire to learn English is more than a wish to communicate with Americans. Opportunities are open for those who know English, and people of all ages realize that theoretical and applied science and improved techniques come from the West, and that English is a means of understanding and applying this knowledge. Channelling this desire, through competent instruction in the schools, which will result in efficient self-guidance afterwards, is one of the significant problems of Okinawan education. But the techniques to be used on a permanent basis should be left to the professional linguist.

Should for example the methods of Basic English be adopted as a matter of policy and be encouraged in private study? Or should language study be based on the principles set forth by the rapidly advancing field of linguistics? Or should we accept the guidance of doctors of education who are specialists in curriculum construction and language training? My own bias is toward the manuals developed by the linguists, such as Spoken Japanese (EI 561-62). This approach, with its pattern sentences, is based on an analysis of the structure of the language itself. Basic English poses the problem whether the English taught is really basic. In my opinion, the crux of the matter is to study the presuppositions underlying these approaches and not the subject matter they produce. American learned societies, with the co-operation of the Army and the Navy, and the subsequent university programs in language study, have made great strides in these fields, both theoretical and applied. They represent the most advanced thinking in the world on these subjects, and the body of knowledge which they have should be most useful.[4]

5

Home, School, and Village

There are strong bonds between the home, the village, and the school. Parents help their children with their elementary readers. There is homework and classmates may stay at one another's houses over night. Parents are interested in children's school problems, but they do not visit the schools often, except at times arranged by the officials. PTA's have been organized, but it is still too early to tell how successful they will be. Since the PTA, like the Women's Association and the Young Men's Association, fits in the culture, it probably will thrive.

On entering school, the child is introduced to a new language which he has not spoken to any extent in childhood. Okinawan is the language of the pre-school child. Beginning school, therefore, is a bigger break than it is with most cultures.

The schools usually draw on several villages for their student body

[4] It is only fair to say that my own bias in favor of the approach developed by the technical linguists grows out of instruction I received in Japanese in the Army's Civil Affairs Training School Program in 1943-44.

871 and the more advanced the school, the truer this is. Friendships
572 are made early with children of nearby villages. Marriage may be the result of early school acquaintance, encouraged by the acceptance of free choice in marriage. A young adult has a scattering of friendships in the villages of his township. These class friendships are strong in school, in the teens, and early twenties. By the late twenties, the circle of friendships has broadened.

182 One of the most significant links between the family, village,
526 and school is the annual athletic meet (undōkai). It is held in the fall. Preparations for this event are long and involve almost everybody.5

526 About a month before it is held, the meet is the topic of
innumerable conversations. School children practice singing and athletic dancing drills at home. School teachers, who do most of the
[875] organizational work, practice with painful cacophony on their trumpets and
[534] clarinets. On the streets and lanes of Minatogawa, young men from 17 to 23 practice broad jumping late into the night. Shortly before the meet, all normal school activities stop. The teachers paint signs, mimeograph programs, and plan the order of the various events. The school officials have interminable committee meetings.

There is much bustle, laundering, hair washing, and cooking in a village the day before the meet. Special lunches including rice dyed
[262] red, bean curd, slices of fish paste, beef or pork are prepared. This field day is the closest approach to a picnic the Okinawans experience.

In good weather, the meet has a large attendance. A reserved area, with school desks and chairs is set aside for special guests. A person
[576] entering the reserved section to take his seat bows to the mayor and the group, steps forward a few paces, bows again, and takes his seat.

The mayor of the township presides over the meeting relieved by the vice-mayor or other school or village or township officials. On one day of the autumn meet, the mayor remained seated throughout the morning and afternoon in a drizzling rain. It was his duty, assisted by the principal and the teachers of the school, to give out the prises.

Relay races, girls' dances, races and dashes for various age groups are endless. At present, the meeting is not confined to school children, but the younger men and women are included as well. The Young Men's Association is very active. Special events are included. In the Women's Association event, there was a mother and child race. In one case, a mother who entered the race with a child on her back and her young son as

[119] 5 These remarks are based on observations in Minatogawa, Oushichan, and Hanashiro villages, and on attendance at the Oushichan meet in November 1951. From discussions, I am certain they are very similar in Matsuda, in fact all over the island.

771 Buddhism, as an organized religion, is of no importance, even though most villagers say they are Buddhists. Buddhist symbols and practices inspired by Buddhism remain, but that is a different matter. 183 The universal use of the Buddhist god shelf or household altar, the observance of Buddhist holidays, such as higan, are matters more of custom and tradition than of religious fervor. This is significant be- 177 cause the Okinawans, for almost 70 years, were a part of the Japanese homeland, the greatest Buddhist nation on earth. During my stay in Okinawa, I thought that the recent war had caused the decline in Buddhist influence. This is only partly true. Subsequent reading of the older 198 literature made it clear that in modern times, Buddhism has not been a living force. The ethical and political systems were primarily Confucian. The priestesses had a greater influence on daily life and at death ceremonials, at least in rural Okinawa.

A variety of practices concerned with the worship of natural phenomena, such as the summits of mountains, groves of trees, wells and springs and the sea survive, but they are not strong.

177 There is little evidence of Shinto beliefs, except in a few families who were long resident in Japan. Shrine Shinto, closely tied in with emperor worship, has been abolished.

177 Villagers are acquainted with Christianity, but I encountered no 797 adherents. The name of the 19th century missionary, Dr. Bettelheim, is still remembered by people in Hinatogawa and Hanashiro. Dr. Bettelheim, a Jewish convert to Christianity, came to Okinawa in 1846. He was both ineffective and unhappy, but his ineffectiveness was probably due more to the lack of enthusiasm of the Okinawan rulers than to personal inadequacy.

3

Buddhism

771 Buddhist formalisms and home observances exist in all the villages. 183 But the religion is not practiced. The people do not attend services or temples, nor do they support or seek out priests. This present situation 114 is apparently little changed from the recent past. Captain Basil Hall (1816) mentioned the apparent low status of the bonse. Charles Wahs, on Perry's staff, said that, "The people, however, appear to be indifferent to it, and do not seem to have much veneration for it. Basil Hall Chamberlain wrote in 1893 that Buddhist influence was almost extinct. In 1910, Simon spoke of the weakness of Buddhism and that priests often did not participate in funerals. Goldschmidt in 1927 made similar observations.[1]

1 Hall, as cited, 98-99; Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, II, 49. Chamberlain, On the manners and customs of the Loochooans, In: Trans. of the Asiatic society of Japan, 21 (1893), 274. Simon, Beitrage zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, 103-04, 177. Goldschmidt, Neu-Japan, 145.

In the post-war period also roads have increased, and they have been widened. More vehicles are on the roads. One can travel through the villages of Okinawa over widened roads which before the war probably differed little from those described by Captain Hall in 1816 and by his grandson Basil Hall Chamberlain in 1895. This extension of the highway system has increased the mobility of Okinawans. Perhaps ultimately the cultural differences among villages will give way to wider uniformity induced by these innovations.

There is something enthralling in reading the chapters on "Lew Chew" in Francis Hawks' Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan, which he compiled from the notes and journals of Commodore Perry, and the pages of Bayard Taylor's work, along with Okinawa, The Last Battle, which the Historical Division of the Department of the Army published in 1948. These give some measure of the change that has been brought about not only in the Great Loo Choo but in the world.

It has been my purpose here to tell part of the remaining, the contemporary story of the people whose islands early ethnologists were so fond of referring to as an anthropological museum.

The End

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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Introduction

This volume is the first of a series of publications reporting research undertaken in 1954 by a group of social scientists from Harvard, Yale, and Cornell universities. In its broadest conception, the research was aimed at exploring cross-culturally the relation between different patterns of child rearing and subsequent differences in personality. It was designed to study the degree to which the treatment a child receives in the first years of life determines his behavior and in adult life influences his perception of the world, his philosophy, religion, and code of ethics.

Theories of the relationship between specific types of treatment in early childhood and subsequent personality difference have been advanced by psychologists and anthropologists. This project was set up with the hope of being able to test some of these hypotheses on the basis of material collected in a standard manner in six parts of the world where families have divergent ways of life and theories and methods of training young children.

In tracing the history of this project one should begin with the work of Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict, Edward Sapir, Ralph Linton, Abram Kardiner, John Dollard, and other pioneers in the field of culture and personality whose work formed the foundation of this study. Such an account, which would demand an essay on the entire new discipline that grew out of the integration of anthropological and psychological theory, is not practical in this introduction.

Specifically, the impetus for this study came from the cross-cultural work on socialization done by two of the senior investigators, John W. M. Whiting and Irvin L. Child, while they were colleagues at the Institute of Human Relations at Yale University. The results of this research were published in *Child Training and Personality* (1953). Using

theories of disease as measures of adult personality, the authors attempted to test certain psychological theories relating the treatment of the basic behavior systems in infancy and childhood to adult personality characteristics.

The data on the 75 societies used in these studies were taken from published ethnographies which varied greatly in the detail and areas of coverage. The dream of the investigators was to send field teams out to get comparable detailed material on 100 societies. As a first step in accomplishing this aim, the present study was planned.

In 1953 the Committee on Social Behavior of the Social Science Research Council sponsored a seminar * and a conference † to discuss cross-cultural work on socialization. As a result, a *Field Manual for the Cross-Cultural Study of Child Rearing* was prepared (Whiting et al., 1953), and Whiting and Child persuaded William W. Lambert of Cornell University to join them in seeking funds to carry out a comparative study of child rearing. A generous grant from the Behavioral Science Division of the Ford Foundation made it possible to carry out these plans. The fieldwork and part of the analysis and writing of five of the six reports in this volume were financed by this grant. Later analysis and editing were supported by a grant from the United States Public Health Service.

Intensive planning for the study was carried on at Cornell, Harvard, and Yale during the following year under the direction of the senior investigators, William W. Lambert, Irvin L. Child, and John W. M. Whiting. During June and July of 1954, a Social Research Council Summer Conference was held at the Laboratory of Human Development at Harvard. All the research personnel, with the aid of David Aberle of Michigan, Alfred Baldwin, and James J. Gibson of Cornell, and Robert Sears of Stanford, wrote the *Field Guide for a Study of Socialization in Five Societies*. This volume presents in detail the research plan, the hypotheses to be tested, and the research devices which were agreed on by the field teams and senior investigators.‡

The five original field teams started fieldwork in the fall of 1954 and

* The contributing members of this seminar were Barbara Chartier Ayres, Hildreth Geertz, George Goethals, Charles Holzinger, Edgar Lowell, Eleanor E. Maccoby, Kimball Romney, Richard Salisbury, William Stewart, and John Thibaut.

† Attending this conference were Robert R. Sears (Chairman), A. L. Baldwin, R. A. Bauer, Irvin L. Child, L. S. Cottrell, Jr., Leon Festinger, J. L. Gewirtz, A. Inkeles, Harry Levin, Gardner Lindzey, Eleanor E. Maccoby, Carson McGuire, G. P. Murdock, B. Paul, J. M. Roberts, T. R. Sarbin, Pauline S. Sears, M. Brewster Smith, R. L. Solomon, John W. Thibaut, and John W. M. Whiting.

‡ Published in mimeographed form by the Laboratory of Human Development, Harvard University, 1954.

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girls during this period, the rewards and punishments for good or bad performance or omission are an index of the training in this behavior system. The age at which different types of chores are assigned gives a clue to the age at which a society considers a child to have "sense," to be capable of reason, and it indicates the beliefs about the nature of the learning process. It will be observed, for example, that the Khalapur Rājpūts believe children learn primarily by observing, and hence they do little direct instructing. One type of responsibility is training children to care for younger siblings or cousins and neighbors. This training may start very young, as in Taira and Nyansongo, or may be late and unimportant, as in Orchard Town.

The size and composition of play groups and the attitudes of parents on friendliness are described for each age grade. It was hypothesized that sociability would be related both to training in nurturance and to the treatment of succorance, but initial comparisons would indicate that nurturance is probably more closely related to training for responsibility and dominance than to friendliness.

In planning the research the senior investigators were also interested in discovering age and sex differences in behavior which might be universal (Barry, Bacon and Child, 1957). Is it true that in spite of radically different treatment in infancy and early childhood in the six societies, boys and adult men are always more aggressive physically than girls and women and that girls and women are always more affectionate than men? Are there regularities in behavior which hold across cultures? Does succorance always decrease with age and dominance always increase? Although these are questions which cannot be answered from a comparison of the six societies alone, consistent age and sex differences should be followed up by further research.

The reader will be aware that in spite of the research design, the data are not always comparable, that in the different areas studied, some monographs have better coverage than others. These variations are due not only to the personalities, interests, and training of the fieldworkers but also to the nature of the culture of the societies they chose to study.

Although this volume concentrates on the material that the researchers felt was theoretically relevant, it is hoped that readers with different conceptual systems and different hypotheses concerning human behavior will find it possible to make some relevant comparisons between the six societies. Those who were concerned with the project have developed new insights and new hypotheses. Some of these can be studied, but for many, the relevant data are not detailed enough and must await further studies. It is our belief that this is

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About the Authors

Thomas and Hatsumi Maretzki chose the village of Taira on the northeast coast of Okinawa. Thomas Maretzki was an advanced graduate student in Anthropology at Yale; his wife, a graduate of the University of Hawaii who had worked for one year on the staff of the Gesell Institute's nursery school in New Haven, Connecticut. The Maretzkis rented half a house in the village. They were assisted in their work by Nariyuki Agarie, a graduate of the State University of Iowa and subsequently a graduate student in psychology at Yale University, and by Kiyoshi Yogi of Naha. Although the Maretzkis did not have children to speed their participation in community life, Mrs. Maretzki's knowledge of Japanese and her exceptional gift with young children were invaluable aids. She seldom moved about the village without an entourage of small, devoted children.

The Maretzkis returned to Okinawa in 1960. Unfortunately time did not permit the incorporation in this monograph of any data collected on this later expedition. Thomas Maretzki is now teaching at the University of Hawaii.

Spindler & Spindler E-5 (1954-1955) 1983 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

is one of the rare, desired body attributes. It was the opinion of some that the descendants of the noble families who came from Shuri, however, are taller and slender, with a prominent, curved nasal ridge.

Until they feel confident in the presence of strangers, Taira people appear quiet and restrained. It is considered a virtue not to show one's emotions, and Tairans consider the expressiveness of Americans childish. Actually they are gay, talkative, and given to laughter, especially the women. Men are quiet unless stimulated by alcohol, but both men and women may lose their composure in emergencies. A notable exception is their placid reactions to the threat of disaster from the ever recurrent violent storms.

THE COMMUNITY, ITS HISTORY AND NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

Taira is one of the northern villages on the northeast coast of Okinawa in Higashi township (see map 1). Today it is home to over 700 people who make their living—as did their ancestors since early times—from the surrounding fields, forests, and from the sea. The Okinawan name for the village, Taira, means "sloping fields." The character used for writing the prevalent Japanese version, Taira, means "flat, plain, good."

Since the family records were lost during World War II, it is necessary to depend on oral traditions for reconstruction of the history of Taira. Unfortunately, the desire of many Okinawans to establish a relationship between their local families and the former royal courts casts some doubt on the accuracy of these traditions.

According to these traditions, the first village to be settled in the vicinity of Taira was the neighboring community Kawata. After the Hokuzan kingdom in Nakijin (on the northwestern Motobu Peninsula) was conquered by the southern Okinawan kingdom of Chuzan in the fifthteenth century (Kerr, 1958:85), the second son of the Lord of Hokuzan is said to have escaped northward into Kunigami province. Unitokogami, the fleeing nobleman, arrived near the present site of Kawata and established himself in a cave around the year 1477. He is still revered today as founder of the village in a yearly spring ceremony when prayers are said in front of the cave. The oldest Taira families trace their descent in the male line from Nizenya, the "main house," he founded. Taira was settled around 1550 by two families tracing descent from this "main house." The descendents of these settlers are

3: Pitts et al. E,K-5 (1953-1954) 1955 AC7 Okinawa AC7

PREFACE

114 122 This report is based on nine months of field research which was conducted under the auspices of the Pacific Science Board of the National Academy of Sciences with Department of Army funds granted by a subcontract with the Human Resources Research Office of The George Washington University. The project was considered a part of the long-range SIRI (Scientific Investigations in the Ryukyu Islands) program developed by the Pacific Science Board "...to advise and assist the administrative authorities of the Ryukyu Islands in problems of rehabilitation relating to the health and economy of the Ryukyu 121 Islands." The objectives of this study were set forth in a broad outline presented by the Pacific Science Board prior to our departure into the field. In brief, it called for a description and assessment of the impact of the United States military occupation on Okinawan culture. Certain aspects of the project outline were later amended to meet the exigencies of the field situation. In the preparation of this report the authors' primary aim has been to inform those actively concerned with Okinawan-American relations; hence, a time limitation largely imposed by the necessity of presenting information while it is still pertinent has precluded a fuller treatment of certain aspects of our data which ordinarily would have been included in a complete ethnographic account.

114 101 Field time covered the period from September of 1953 to June of 1954. One of the authors remained on Okinawa for an additional month to compensate for time lost due to illness and hospitalization.

128 Although each of us worked on several aspects of culture, in writing up our material we divided it roughly according to the major field of interest of each. Thus, though each chapter, or section of the last chapter, bears the name of the writer only, it was written from an outline that was discussed by all three and all three contributed both data and ideas to it.

We have tried to keep Okinawan and Japanese terms to a minimum, that is to use them only when there is no clear English equivalent or to add them (usually parenthetically) only as linguistic evidence for the existence of an object, practice, or concept. Nevertheless, they will be found scattered throughout the report. Although each term is defined, we hope, where it first appears, we have identified each again in a glossary. The distinction between native Okinawan terms and Japanese terms is worth preserving; we have done so by underlining the Okinawan terms and enclosing the Japanese terms in single quote marks. Some inconsistency in the Okinawan terms is due to differences in dialect and differences in recording.

101 Although we spent a bit of time in a number of communities on Okinawa, the major part of our work was in six: Pitts in Nanahan (Tomoyose), Kochinda-son, Goeku-son; Lebra in Kanegusuku, Kanegusuku-son and Kitazato, Kamimotobu-son; and Suttles in Yamazato, Chinen-son and Yamada, Onna-son. The locations of these communities is shown on Map 1.

212 177 829 [571] [538] Writing Okinawa never developed an independent system of writing; in the old kingdom both Japanese and Chinese were used. Literacy was largely confined to the upper classes, and it is said that students were sent to both countries for study. Apparently the literati held the Chinese language and culture in high regard while disdaining that of the Japanese; yet, Bettelheim noted in 1851 that Japanese books were very popular in spite of this contempt of the literati.[1] He also stated that the Okinawans always preferred biblical texts written in Japanese to those in Chinese. In view of the political paramouncy of Japan from 1609 and the close linguistic and cultural ties between the two peoples this popularity of Japanese is not surprising. It also should be noted that although the literati are reported as preferring Chinese to Japanese, the major literary achievements of Okinawa were written in Japanese. Thus, for example, the Omorosōshi, sixteenth century collection of songs which the late Dr. Ifa has called the Ryukyuan scriptures, was recorded in a Japanese style of writing; the same is true for the annals of the old kingdom and for the first dictionary of the Okinawan language.

212 177 [114] With the advent of a Japanese administration and educational system, the study of Chinese ceased, and today Japanese is used exclusively. Most Okinawan place names and family names as they are written in Japanese can be given two interpretations, the Japanese and the Okinawan; in a majority of cases the Japanese is given preference. Occasionally when Okinawan speech is transcribed as in the case of lyrics accompanying phonograph records, the Japanese syllabary is used. This is not a suitable devise for transcribing Okinawan speech, which contains many sounds unfamiliar to Japanese. Unfortunately much of the early linguistic research conducted in this area was rendered virtually worthless by the employment of this syllabary. In recent years scholars like Miyanaga and Kinjo have recorded Ryukyuan using the International Phonetic Alphabet.

197 191 177 178 Conclusion At the present time Okinawan speech enjoys widespread use throughout the whole of the island. It is still the language of the home, and as such it is a more common medium of expression than the official language, Japanese. The latter, backed by the government, schools, and all the forces of modern life, is gradually supplanting Okinawan, but it would be an over-statement to say that the language is dying out. It may be expected that the majority of Okinawans will remain bilingual as they are today until such time when a whole adult generation will speak only Japanese and transmit only Japanese to its offspring.

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1 Bettelheim, n.d., p. 31.